Monolingualism vs. multilingualism in Western Europe: language regimes in France, Spain, and the United Kingdom[1]

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1. Introduction

Institutions play an important role in the management of multilingualism and can have a defining impact on language use. By granting more or less official status to certain forms of expression and language varieties, they legitimize some forms and varieties as more desirable targets of linguistic accommodation than others, which can affect speakers' dominant language environments (Matras 2009:23) and influence the selection process of language change. Over time, officially sanctioned language use can have the power of changing the course of language histories.

One example of such incremental change is legal language use in early modern Europe. At first glance, the endorsement of French for legal use by King Francis I (1494-1547) in his *Ordinance of Villers-Cotterêt* (1539) might seem like symbolic action, as most of his subjects were illiterate, only spoke their local dialects, and could not have complied with the ordinance. However, local administrators were used to writing in a type of Latin that was conform to the standards of administrative communication in the kingdom and also intelligible to the locals, thanks to multiple lexical and morphological borrowings from the vernacular. Biliterate by training, clerks applied similar accommodation strategies to French. In some areas of Southern France, for instance, reports, account books, and other official texts contained so many elements borrowed from Occitan that they read like "the local dialect dressed up in French" (Lodge

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2009:277). In some cases, "it was enough for our clerk to master certain simple formulas of automatic conversion between French and the local dialect" (idem:283-285) to guarantee mutual intelligibility thanks to systematic vowel changes (*donnat > donné* 'given', *lor > leur* 'their') and predictable patterns of morphological variation (*costeront > cousterent* '(they) cost') in the two Romance languages. Over time, the continued imposition of royal power ended up tipping the balance in favor of French. Similarly, the *Laws in Wales Act* (1535-1542) that decreed English to be the only language of the courts caused lasting damage to the status of Welsh long after the reign of Henry VIII (1491-1547). In a series of other administrative measures, Welsh courts were stripped from their right to try criminal cases and bilingualism with English became a requirement for holding public office in Wales. The legal subordination of Wales in all its administrative details was only fully repelled in the twentieth century (Williams 1993:256). The *Nueva Planta* decrees (1707-1716) in the kingdom of Philip V set in motion a similar process of long-range imposition, starting with the requirement that all the court cases to be heard in Barcelona's Royal Court be written and conducted in Castilian (Spanish). Catalan-speaking local officials could accommodate to the use of Castilian, also a Romance language, but the decrees marked the beginning of "a new centralist understanding of political authority, modeled after French absolutism" (Medina & al. 2013:25-26) that ultimately eroded the prestige of Catalan in legal and administrative domains.

State-sanctioned interventions on language have been extensively studied in historical linguistics and with the social constructivist turn in the social sciences they have also sparked interest in sociolinguistics. Auger & Villeneuve's (2017) comparison of Picard and regional French spoken in *Picardie*, for instance, focuses on the linguistic conditioning of future temporal expression with the broader goal of drawing policy makers' attention to the fact that the two

varieties should be recognized as distinct regional languages. The authors also call for "studies set in long-standing language contact areas [that] can inform language policies" (idem:572). Among politically informed approaches to language histories, Deumert & Vandenbussche's (2003) edited volume responds to Joseph's (1987:13) call for a "comparative standardology." It presents studies of standardization, considered "a specific type of sociolinguistic change", in sixteen Germanic languages and highlights "the importance of the socio-historically specific conditions under which each of the different standard languages emerged" (idem:2).

In this chapter, I follow these socio-political approaches to language standardization to interpret selected language policy and planning measures in terms of common mechanisms and outcomes of language contact in three western European states: France, Spain, and the United Kingdom. I take as common ground for their comparison the emergence of national identity in early modern and modern times, the expansion of state boundaries through conquest, and the compulsion to achieve cultural homogeneity through language use. Each state's language regimes are considered to be heavily influenced by language ideologies that treat standard language, community, and territory as isomorphic and are based on a common "sense of linguistic correctness" (Gal 2006:172). Using the same historical timeline, I attempt to show how different institutional responses to multilingualism led to state-specific compromises and the overall decrease of ethnolinguistic diversity in each state.

2. Modeling state intervention on societal multilingualism

2.1. Language regimes: definitions

One way to avoid "the pitfall of recounting the most known historical events and listings of border changes" in service of one's arguments (Kamusella 2009:5) is to use established taxonomies that "merge historical narrative with an analysis of language politics" (idem). In this

chapter, I use the political scientist Amy Liu's (2015) *typology of language regimes* to analyze the institutionalization of hegemonic "linguistic power" (idem: 12) in three newly forming European nation-states confronted with the top-down management of societal multilingualism.

Language regimes are "spatial and temporal practices, either physical or symbolic, through which rules [of language use] are established to determine an inside and outside, and in which not anyone is allowed to participate or seen as legitimate" (Costa 2019:2). They "structure the status and socio-political landscape of communication in a specific space and time" (Purkarthofer & De Korne 2020:166) by indicating "which languages can be used when and where" (Liu 2015:22). Liu's *typology of language regimes* seeks to focus on the sociological dimensions of "politically relevant linguistic heterogeneity" (idem) and does not deal with identity considerations.

The first dimension, referred to as "monolingualism" vs. "multilingualism" (horizontal axis, Figure 1) refers to the number of recognized languages having some status on some administrative level (e.g. federal, regional, cantonal, etc.) in the state. The second dimension, ranging from "mother tongue" to "lingua franca" (vertical axis, Figure 1), denotes "the degree of nativity" of the recognized languages in the state (Liu 2015:25). What language counts as "native" is defined broadly: it is any language that is learned, transmitted, and used in daily life by "a significant portion of the domestic population" (idem).

On one end of the continuum is MOTHER TONGUE, language(s) acquired in the private sphere, on the other is LINGUA FRANCA that, quoting studies in linguistics, is taken to be "a third party's language, a language of interethnic communication spoken by many but is the mother tongue of none" (Liu 2015:26). Liu stresses the difference between Arabic, whose diglossic nature is tied to religion, and English that illustrates how lingua franca is connected to social

domains (e. g. in higher education but not necessarily in the family). Thus, "no language is a lingua franca in all contexts" (Liu 2015:27 citing Ostler 2010:xvii-xviii).
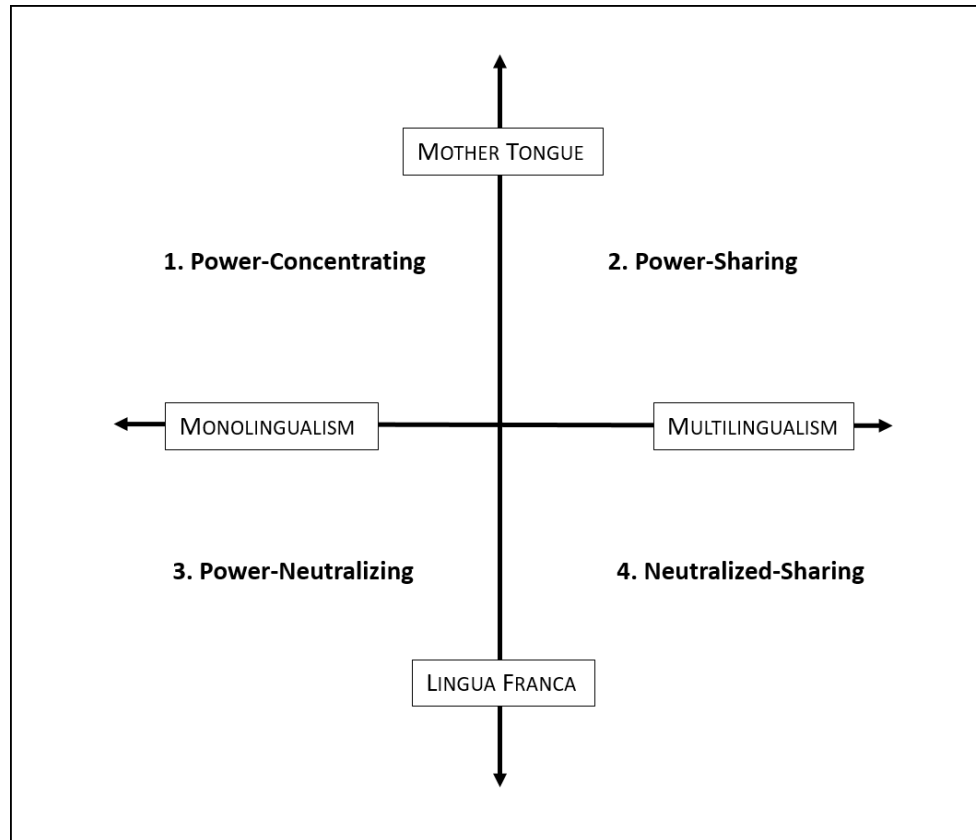

Figure 1. Classification of language regimes (Liu 2015:30).

Both dimensions in this typology are, of course, eminently sociolinguistic. The notion of MOTHER TONGUE, for instance, under-defined in the model, is probably the most problematic: it is unclear whether it refers to varieties transmitted within the family, or it is closer to notions of ethnicity and territoriality. The exclusive focus on "recognized" languages also excludes many local varieties, further limiting the model's general validity for the purposes of sociolinguistic inquiry. Despite the need for sociolinguistic fine-tuning, however, the model offers a way of integrating categories such as TYPE OF STATE and TYPE OF POLITICAL MEASURE into socio-historical analyses of language diversity.

2.2. Language regimes: types

Combining the two dimensions, the model yields four basic types of language regime. The first type, shown in the upper-left cell of Figure 1, is called *power-concentrating*. It is "characterized by the concentration of linguistic power in the mother tongue of one domestic group" (Liu 2015:29) that also tends to be the politically and demographically dominant ethnic group in a state at a given moment in its history. Liu insists on the fact that the main point in *power-concentrating* language regimes is not the social, demographic, or political weight of any ethnic group, but the fact that its language is the only one enjoying official recognition. Again how this recognition is achieved is not taken into account in the model, as the choice of official language(s) even in ethnically relatively homogeneous states can be difficult to establish by consensus and can lead to contentions. Bengali in Bangladesh, for instance, is the habitual language of 80% of the population and the sole beneficiary of official state promotion despite the importance of Sylheti and other regional languages in the state.

The second type of language regime is called *power-sharing*, as it "distribute[s] linguistic power across multiple mother tongues" (idem:30). The point in this arrangements is "**whether** multiple languages are being recognized and **not how** the recognition of one language compares to the recognition of another language or whether the recognition afforded is equal and fair [emphasis in bold by Liu]. Different subtypes are distinguished depending on the administrative status of recognized languages. Canada represents one subtype, called "*collectively power-sharing*" language regime, where recognized languages are intended to have equal share "in all official capacities" (Liu 2015:32) from the national (federal) level all the way to the local municipal level.

Again the point is the inclusion of other languages in the administrative and legal structure of the state rather than the contentions that may arise during this process. Switzerland stands for the second subtype that is distinguished but not explicitly named in the model. I propose to call it a *partitioning power-sharing* language regime in that it affords each recognized language equal status on the highest (federal) level, but not on some other local level (e.g. regional, cantonal, etc.): "each group has equality in how it treats language matters within its own jurisdiction" (idem:33). States that integrate more than one recognized language native to the community in any administrative domain can be considered *inclusive power-sharing* arrangements. Malaysia is one example that recognizes one of its community's native languages, Bahasa Malay, as official and allows the use of several other languages in education (e.g. Chinese, English, and Tamil).

Language regimes that rely on lingua francas can be either *power-neutralizing* or *neutralized-sharing*. *Power-neutralizing* arrangements diminish the political power of the state's ethnolinguistic groups by using an outside language for interethnic communication. Such language regimes have flourished, for instance, in early modern Europe when Latin served as the default written standard. Linguistic proximity to the lingua franca, among others, can provide a clear advantage in mutual intelligibility and might make the acquisition of some languages easier for certain groups than others. For this reason, the assumption that power-neutralizing arrangements are "fair" to multiple ethnic groups is an illusion. The main point in power-neutralizing arrangements is that "all relevant bargaining groups forfeit claims to their mother tongues and agree to the exclusive use of a lingua franca" (idem:34). Whether various groups are coerced into achieving such a consensus or do so of their own volition makes no difference for

the outcome, which is the institutionalization of neutrality between ethnolinguistic groups at the state level.

Neutralized-sharing language regimes, the fourth type in the model, recognize both a non-native lingua franca and at least one language spoken natively by an ethnic group in the population for the purposes of communication on some administrative level. This is a frequent arrangement in postcolonial contexts where a former colonial language and at least one local language of interethnic communication are recognized. The language regimes of the Philippines (with English and Tagalog) come to mind, while in the contemporary European context, neutralized-sharing tends to characterize microstates. In Luxemburg, for instance, the local national language, Luxemburgish, is co-official with French and German in all its official administrative and judicial functions.

After this presentation of the political framework, I turn to Haugen's (1966) model of standardization that will guide the analysis of selected language policy measures in the three states.

2.3. Standardization

Norm selection is the first step in measures of language standardization. Its two main types, *monocentric* and *polycentric selections*, define the dialectal basis of a common linguistic standard to be built. Monocentric selection targets a socially dominant language variety. One such case in Western Europe is Standard Danish that is based on the prestigious Copenhagen variety (Kristiansen 2003). Standard languages based on polycentric norms can be assemblages of existing and compromise varieties engineered by language and literacy experts (*Euskara Batua*, standard Basque), reconstructions of earlier forms of language (Nynorsk, one of the two

standard languages of Norway), or a regional *koiné* risen to prestige as a result of contact with several neighboring dialects (standard French, see infra).

Norm codification follows norm selection. This phase involves members of the literate elite (scribes, writers, publishers) who take upon the task of 'streamlining' inherent linguistic variation in form and function by selecting certain forms and expressions as desirable, and disseminating them in reference grammars, dictionaries, style guides, and manuals. Language communities that have the reputation of holding strong beliefs of what forms are acceptable as codified language norms, are sometimes considered *purist.* According to empirical studies of *linguistic purism*, for instance, individuals in Quebec tend to view English borrowings in French in a more negative light than do French speakers in France (Walsh 2016:255).

Norm implementation often starts with processes of codification and refers to the diffusion and acceptance of the codified norm. Social actors, from publicists to investors, stakeholders, and iconic figures in the media, play a role through their trend-setting influence on others as habitual users of the standard language. In the European context, the decisive, large-scale implementation of language norms is typically associated with compulsory elementary education, which helped generalize national language standards in most European countries. The knowledge of standard German, for instance, became widespread in the German Empire (1871-1919) only towards the end of the 19th century when illiteracy was reduced thanks to generalized elementary education (Kamusella 2009:48).

Norm elaboration, also called *modernization* or *cultivation*, refers to adapting the stock of features of the standard language to the demands of contemporary life and technology. *Modernization* can consist of the creation of new words denoting new concepts. On-line resources for terminology creation, such as Wikipedia, can be used in lesser-known languages,

such as Breton in France (Baxter 2009) in order to reach wider audiences for the language. Spelling reforms are highly politicized acts of *norm cultivation* that take time to implement, especially when they encounter resistance at making established orthography more consistent with contemporary patterns of pronunciation. The reform of German spelling, for instance, was accomplished in 1998 after a century of failed attempts when "the differing guidelines drawn up for schools in various parts of the German-speaking areas" (Johnson 2002:553) proved to be insufficient for communication in a unified German Empire and, following World War II, a modern European nation-state.

Haugen's model of language standardization is a linear, top-down representation of social change targeting language as a shared institution. It has been conceived on the basis of European language histories and, as such, is a product of a tradition that had not yet integrated—albeit greatly inspired—contemporary research on types of political action (e.g. grassroots or top-down), consensus-making (e.g. through coercion or convergence), and identity formation (e.g. cultivation or revitalization). Admittedly, there is more to the model than the four steps described above (for a critical review, see Joseph & al. 2020). In what follows, Haugen's "careful mapping of sociolinguistic phenomena onto their political treatment" (Del Valle 2020:301) and Liu's (2015) political typology of state multilingualism will provide a broad, joint framework for a comparison of linguistic diversity in different types of state and in the same time periods of nation-state formation.

3. Regimes of language

3.1. Monolingualism vs. multilingualism

Compared to its European neighboring states that support some form of societal multilingualism (Belgium, Switzerland) or actively promote regional and minority languages (Germany, Spain),

France is "a paradigmatic case of cultural centralization" (Harguindéguy & Itçaina 2015:170) in which homogenization of language is considered a positive force that creates social cohesion and "facilitates all citizens' political participation" (idem:175). France is a unitary state, whose governing power resides in the central government. Following Liu's (2015) typology, it is the archetype of *power-concentrating* language arrangements (Figure 2). The mother tongue of over 80% of the population of France, French is the sole constitutionally recognized official language[2] despite the fact that seventy-five regional and immigrant languages are spoken natively and transmitted habitually in all its metropolitan and overseas territories combined (Cerquiglini 1999, Héran & al. 2002). Alsatian, Basque, Breton, Catalan, Corsican, varieties of Franco-provençal, and dialects Occitan are the most prominent regionally (Figure 3). In the first decades of the 21st century, largely as a consequence of greater regional integration within the European Union, France had to grant greater administrative power to the regions, which also meant more attention afforded to local cultural diversity. As we shall see (Section 3.2), this strongly monolingual language regime arose from the concentration of state power in the hands of a culturally homogenous elite whose cultural and linguistic practices have enjoyed uncontested prestige nationally and internationally since the early modern era.

Contemporary United Kingdom (UK) can be characterized as the most multilingual of the three states. It is a unitary state under the leadership of the central government of England, but unlike France it is decentralized, delegating substantial political and administrative power to its regional governments: Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. English is the language spoken by the majority, but it is not official by law. Since 2001, as part of its obligations within the

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[2] *Chiffres et données clefs sur la langue française*, 2017. https://www.culture.gouv.fr/Sites-thematiques/Langue-francaise-et-langues-de-France/Actualites/Chiffres-et-donnees-cles-sur-la-langue-francaise-2017. (15 August, 2020.)

European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages[3], the state protects and promotes five

regional minority languages: Cornish, Irish Gaelic, Scottish Gaelic, Scots, Ulster Scots, and

Welsh (Figure 4). Within Liu's (2015) typology, this language arrangement qualifies as an

inclusive power-sharing (Figure 2) due to the political integration of multiple recognized

languages at a local level. As we shall see (Section 3.3), this language political arrangement

arose gradually due to changes in institutional policy that opted to integrate rather than suppress

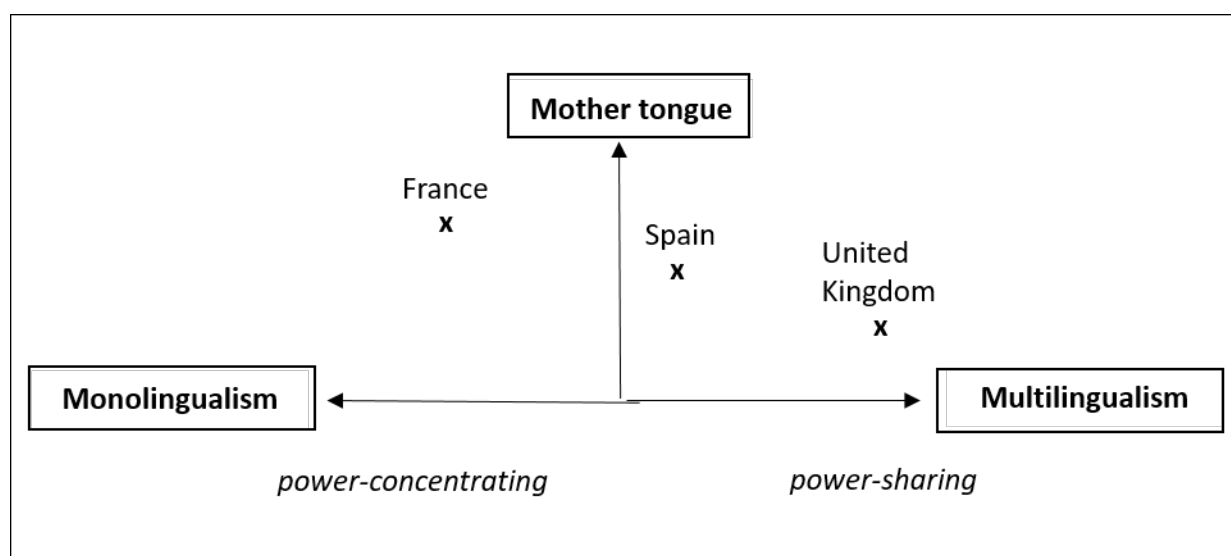ethnolinguistic diversity within a rapidly expanding nation-state.

Figure 2. Three contemporary language regimes in light of Liu's
(2015) typology of language regimes.

Similar to French in France, Castilian (Spanish) in Spain is an official language inscribed

in the Constitution. However, unlike France, Spain is a decentralized unitary state that recognizes

several regional and minority languages as co-official in their respective autonomous

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[3] https://www.coe.int/en/web/european-charter-regional-or-minority-languages/signatures-and-ratifications. (15 August, 2020.)

communities. Aranese (Occitan), Catalan, and Valencian are co-official in Catalonia, Basque is co-official in the Basque Country and Navarre, and so is Galician in Galicia (Figure 5). Under the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages that Spain ratified in 2001[4], numerically smaller minority languages such as Aragonese, Asturian, and Leonese are also promoted in some public domains, among them education. Although not all promotional measures undertaken by the state are realized satisfactorily, the Council of Europe recognizes that the languages of Spain protected under Part III of the Charter[5] "enjoy strong support in general from the regional and local authorities." These measures make contemporary Spain a type of *inclusive power-sharing* language regime. However, as we shall see (Section 3.4), Spain's history has been marked by periods of strong state control over language and cultural life, which makes its inclusive power-sharing arrangements strongly influenced by homogenizing language ideologies.

In the next subsections, Liu's typology and Haugen's model will be used jointly to contrast the evolution of language regimes in these three states over time.

3.2. France's power-concentrating language regime

3.2.1. Norm selection

Similar to other states in Medieval Europe, France started out as a patchwork of feudal dominions and regional centers of wealth. These centers of literacy and culture had their own local languages and standards of writing. Although influenced by the increasing economic and cultural prominence of the Île-de-France region in the heart of the *Oïl* dialect area (Figure 3),

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[4] Articles 8-12 pertaining to education, culture, media, economic life, and the judiciary

[5] Fifth report, 2019, https://www.coe.int/en/web/european-charter-regional-or-minority-languages/reports-and-recommendations (15 August, 2020.)

surrounding Paris, many varieties were quite prestigious. Among these was Anglo-Normand French, a *lingua franca* in late-12th century England (see Section 3.3), that provided some of the earliest literary writings in Old French. It is customary, for instance, to quote Conon de Béthune (1150-1219), noble man, crusader, and poet from Picardie, one of the northern regions of France, who rebuked Constance of Castile, Queen of France and second wife of Louis VII (1120-1180), for criticizing regional features in his speech (Chansons, III. 8-14, c. 1180, Lodge 1993:99). The poet's reaction was well justified, as the future prestige variety of French spoken in the greater Île-de-France region, surrounding Paris, was just a newly forming regional *koine* (Bergounioux 1989, Lodge 2006:54-57), i.e., a contact variety that combined multiple features from surrounding *Oïl* dialects, including Picard, spoken by the poet. Thus, contrary to a long-prevailing myth, the ancestor of standard French was not *francien*, a stand-alone regional vernacular, but a widely spoken regional contact variety. The structural characteristics of today's standard French are, in large measure, the result of convergence between local dialectal *Oïl* features used by scribes, notaries, and literary authors. Spelling and grammatical features retained in their writings served the purposes of supra-regional communication within the French kingdom and, as such, were eventually codified and diffused internationally (idem:56). The success of this variety was very likely due to its ecology, as the "central geographical location [of] Île-de-France (with Paris) within the *langue d'Oïl* area [that] represented the lowest common factor among the *oïl* dialects" (Wartburg 1962:89-90) and it became prominent socially and economically in the country. With Latin learned in school, French spoken outside the local regions, and one or more local languages spoken in the family, the elite was multilingual, traveled, and "acted on a European stage […], while in contrast to the nobility and the clergy, the peasants were anchored within local structures" (Wright 2011:777) and were monolingual.

France was split along divisions of class and diverging language repertoires: ordinary people were "overwhelmingly rural, living principally in small self-sufficient communities" (Lodge 1993:193). During this period, neutralized-sharing language arrangements were numerous and facilitated by close genetic ties between *Oc* and *Oïl* language varieties. Latin and French were used in supra-regional, primary written, communication and could be "customized," so to speak, for local and national consumption (see example in Section 1).
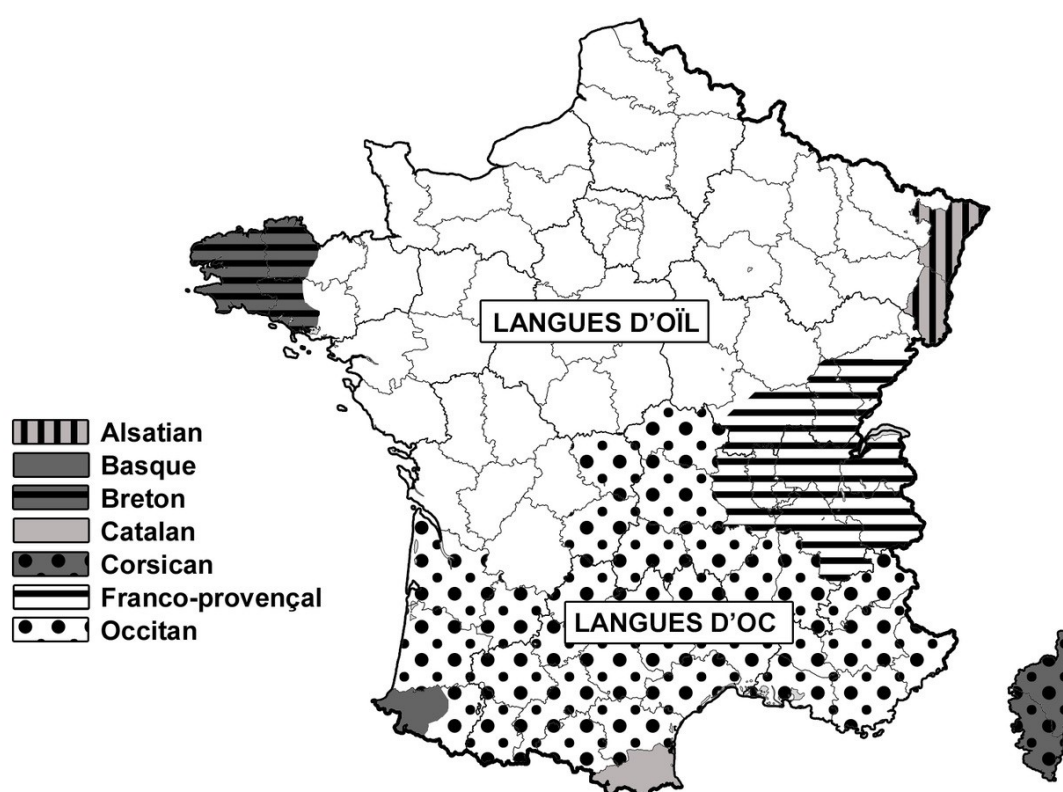

Figure 3. *Oc* and *Oïl* dialect areas and seven of France's regional languages[6]

Fearing feudal rivalries and threat from foreign powers, the French kings relentlessly pushed to extend and, increasingly to centralize, their influence on a growing number of regions.

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[6] Map adapted from: https://aminoapps.com/c/language-exchange/page/blog/langues-doc-and-langues-doil-frenchie/8BR6_MvbSmu2j1vZoJrq7Rx3dzrWJvGPPYd. (15 August, 2020.)

From the fourteenth century onward, French gradually replaced Latin at the top of the language order. Official support for translations from Latin to French accelerated the extension of the judicial system, a crucial domain of language use, to new territories acquired by the kings.

Locally, however, the new agents of change were members of the growing urban bourgeoisie who increasingly preferred the idiom of the French kings over the vernaculars of local seigneurs. "Made up largely of wealthy entrepreneurs and professionals […], based in cities, and often independent of the control of the clergy and the nobility," towns became the main sites of a series of new social and cultural changes diffused through the French kings' extended administrative networks (Rietbergen 2015:205). With the invention and spread of the printing press and subsequent translations of the Bible to vernacular languages across Europe starting from the fifteenth century, neutralized-sharing language regimes with Latin at the top and vernaculars at the bottom, were turned upside down. French from Île-de-France, already a widely diffused but still uncodified, was about to be made into a standard language for the purposes of national and international communication.

3.2.2. Codification

The Italian wars (1494-1559) and the Wars of Religion (1562-1598) in the sixteenth century weakened the French nobility. It was around this time that the Parliament of Paris, the supreme judicial court of France started to withdraw the supervision of cases from the Church and placed it into the hands of the royal Court. As the circle of authority narrowed, discussions of the norms of writing the French language, the designated prestige lingua franca of administration, became of primary political importance. "Debates on the codification of language norms [also] reflected disputes between those who supported the absolute power of the King and those who wanted to restrain it" (Caron & Kibbee 2016:38). Laws and decrees, such as the *Ordonnance de Villers-*

Cotterêts (1539) by François I (1494-1547), declared that all judicial records in the country should be kept in *langage maternel François* 'mother tongue French'. Although it is unclear what "mother tongue French" meant to the majority of the King's subjects who did not speak it, the ordinance signaled a clear stance in favor of increased linguistic homogenization in legal matters, as dictated by the Royal Court.

In the effervescence of codifying "mother tongue French," it became essential to designate the socially most rewarding ways of speaking and writing the language. At first, humanists located the "best French" in Île-de-France and the Loire Valley (Palsgrave 1530). Others, such as the publisher and scholar from Geneva, Robert Estienne (1557), advocated for "an intellectual and social elite compounded of the Court, the Parliament, the Chancellery, and the Treasury" (Rickard 1989:82). By the seventeenth century, however, the leaders of the codification process such as the grammarian Claude Favre de Vaugelas (1647) took a narrow view of language norms by designating the men of letters closest to the royal Court as models to follow.

Endless debates on spelling, pronunciation, syntax, and lexis were characteristic of this era that led to the elaboration of French into a prestige lingua franca with precise rules and a wide-ranging lexicon. During the reign of Louis XIV (1638-1715), France has acquired the most territories and the largest population in Western Europe and the New World; it was home to one sixth of Europe's population (Wright 2004:119). French also became an international prestige lingua franca: heads of states, men of letters, scientists, and members of the nobility from England to Russia used it and transmitted it. French spelling took its modern form and language planning institutions, such as the *Académie Française* (1635), were charged with their continued

elaboration and supervision. The institutional framework of the first power-concentrating language regime in Europe had been laid.

3.2.3. Diffusion and acceptance

The large-scale diffusion of French in France, however, had to wait for two more centuries. The French kings, overseeing a vast colonial empire and always in dire financial need, lacked the means to build the modern infrastructure needed to bring the state language to the literate in their linguistically diverse kingdom. Throughout the eighteenth century, especially in the peripheries of the French kingdom, local dialects remained predominant.

The French Revolution ushered in a new era of centralized cultural policy geared towards linguistic homogenization. Revolutionaries of the First Republic (1792-1804) instituted measures of standardization in all areas of life, including the metric system, which extended to everyday language use. Repressive actions against multilingualism were empirically grounded. Two influential reports (by Barère and Grégoire) requested by the National Convention, the first government of the French Revolution, described widespread ignorance of the national language by about forty-six percent of the population of France, mostly living in the countryside of the southern *Oc* dialect areas. One of the reports by the revolutionary bishop Grégoire (1794), entitled *Rapport sur la nécessité et les moyens d'anéantir les patois et d'universaliser l'usage de la langue française*,[7] designated local languages as worthless idioms (*patois*) to be abolished because they corrupted their speakers' minds and maintained them in ignorance and superstitions. Administrative measures to remedy the situation followed the same year. "Teachers of French were to be sent immediately to the benighted areas where these seditious and debased forms of speech were in use" (Adamson 2007:86).

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[7] 'On the necessity and the ways in which to abolish the patois and universalize the use of the French language'.

In an attempt to reorder the education system, the Committee for Public Instruction opened competitions for the creation of elementary school books, adopted provisions for the extension of technical schools in French, and founded the first teacher training colleges (*écoles normales)*. Uniformity and acquisition of the national language also extended to the linguistic landscape and everyday speech. All inscriptions on public monuments had to be written in French and all terminologies reminiscent of the monarchy were abolished, including the use of polite address forms that had to be changed to the informal *tu*. German-speaking Alsace was subjected to "a full-fledged campaign of gallicization, including measures against local clothing, Gothic typefaces, and public signs in German lettering" (Bell 1988:486). State intervention in all dimensions of public life, including language, remained the cornerstone of radical republicanism in the following centuries, fueled by ideologies that "there could, and should, be but one culture uniting all the French" (Lebovics 2011:346).

The shock of defeat in the war with Prussia (1870-1871) revived revolutionary rhetoric on a linguistically unified nation. Industrialization in the nineteenth century during the Third Republic (1870-1940) brought modern infrastructure and greater mobility that necessitated efficient division of labor and unimpeded communication. The diffusion of standard French was accelerated through new institutions that reinforced the state's power-concentrating traditions. The *Jules Ferry* laws (1881-1882) instituted free, compulsory, and secular elementary education. They created the modern Republican school despite considerable resistance from the Catholic Church and regional cultural movements (e.g. the *Félibrige* movement in Provence). Regional languages were curtailed to being used in the family. The general mobilization of the population and the ensuing blood loss during World War I accelerated cultural homogenization and the acceptance of French as a national language. The collaboration of Breton language revivalists

with the pro-Nazi Vichy regime (1940-1944) delivered the ultimate *coup de grâce* to institutional recognition of regional languages after World War II. Power-sharing arrangements in education became possible again with the Deixonne Law (1951), the first post-World War II language law to allow regional languages back in the classroom. European frameworks of minority protection did not result in the promotion of regional languages, as France did not ratify the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages (1992). If anything, the adoption of the Charter led to the tightening of power-concentrating language ideologies in France and precipitated the inscription of French as the sole official language into the Constitution. In 2008, the cultural significance of regional languages and cultures was added to the Constitution and the most recent territorial reforms[8] granted greater administrative powers to a fewer number of regions. Within this new administrative scheme, the regions can promote bilingual language use. Despite these new opportunities, however, France's power-concentrating language regime remains undisputed.

3.3. The United Kingdom's inclusive power-sharing language regime

3.3.1 Norm selection and codification

Norm selection in English also started in Medieval times when cultural centers set their own standards of writing and the majority of texts in Old English (450-1150) survived in mixed dialects. One of them, West Saxon of the vast region south of the river Thames, started to be widely shared in written usage by the eleventh century. However, its ascendancy was cut short by the Norman Conquest (1066) which put Anglo-Norman, a rural *Oïl* variety different from the French spoken by the French Royal Court to the top of the language hierarchy. As elsewhere in Europe, Latin was used for ecclesiastic and official records. The *Domesday Book*[9] in which

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[8] Law NOTRe of August 7, 2015 (**N**ouvelle **O**rganisation **T**erritoriale de la **R**épubliqu**e**).

[9] Survey of landholding whose conclusions were considered irrevocable, hence the nickname 'domesday'.

William the Conqueror (1028-1087) took stock of his new kingdom, for instance, was written in Medieval Latin to emphasize his legal authority. Locked into a neutralized-sharing language regime with both Latin and Anglo-Norman, English was "reduced to a common level of unimportance" (Baugh & Cable 2002:47), and Anglo-Norman which progressively aligned on the prestige norm emanating from Île-de-France became the language of the administration for the kings and nobility of England for more than 300 years. The use of English in written documents was reduced, and its incipient codification, especially the normalization of its spelling, was halted. With no schools and monasteries teaching how to write in English, England was forced into *diglossia*. Unlike the regional *koiné* of greater Île-de-France that could compete with other varieties for greater diffusion and status (Section 3.2.1), the use of English declined in writing.

But vernacular English persisted. The various versions of the charter of rights agreed upon by each king and their feudal lords, known as the *Magna Carta* (1215-1297), were written in Latin for legitimacy, translated to Anglo-Norman-French for record, and also rendered in English for comprehension by local administrators. Similar legal and administrative documents also had to be translated to, and promulgated in, English to make sure that the terms of arrangement with the king were well understood. Thus, the custom of making important announcements in both *gallico* (Anglo-Norman-French) and *anglico* (English) contributed to the maintenance of literacy in English and led to the stabilization of bilingualism.

In the following centuries, Oxford and Cambridge became important centers of learning and writing just outside of London, the heart of commerce, print trade, and spread of new ideas of Protestantism. The local dialects of English in the three centers were slightly different, but they were mutually intelligible and close enough to the Court's usage to facilitate convergence

and accelerate the dissemination of English through publications. French continued to be used by the educated elite that also spoke English. Latin started to recede. The increasing use of vernaculars in all areas of social life during the Renaissance helped English generalize in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. At first, bilingual dictionaries, such as, the Latin-English dictionary of the diplomat and scholar Sir Thomas Elyot (1538) and the French and English dictionary of the lexicographer and language teacher Claudius Hollyband (1593) were published in greater numbers than monolingual dictionaries because they served the practical need of translation and language learning. The first monolingual dictionaries also reflected the interests of a bilingual society: they were remedial rather than descriptive, targeting the "lexical deficiencies" of the educated elite. So-called "hard-word dictionaries," for instance, explained in simple terms the meaning of the numerous borrowings from other languages, primarily from French. In some cases, there was also a clear gender bias in their portrayals of women "as a single undifferentiated group of lexically deficient readers" who could especially benefit from learning "the vocabulary of men" (Russell 2018:30). It took another century for the first descriptive monolingual dictionary of English to be published by the critic, lexicographer, and biographer Samuel Johnson (1755). Its use of modern English spelling and recognition of lexical change as a natural process rather than a degeneration were particularly innovative. In sum, rather than touted as a universal language, English was merely catching up to the status of Latin and French during its early history of norm selection and codification.

England also chose to differ from the rest of Europe with regards to the lack of state control over usage. While elsewhere in Europe, language academies surveilling the proper usage of their new standard languages were established in early modern times, England was late erecting a language academy for English. The reason was not the shortage of purist attitudes towards spelling and grammar. In 1662, the Royal Society passed a resolution to improve the English language, and some

of its ad hoc committees contemplating such a task could have served as a future language academy. The writer and journalist Daniel Defoe (1660-1731) devoted a chapter to the idea of a language academy in one of his essays; and the Anglo-Irish essayist and political pamphleteer Jonathan Swift (1667-1745) became one of its ardent proponents. He passionately argued for an institutional language authority over English, but his admiration of the French *Académie* was met with objections. Multiple writers, among them Samuel Johnson (see above), pointed out that the achievements of language academies across Europe were questionable and purism, in general, was futile. Apparently, Johnson's views had a decisive impact on public opinion and a policy of noninterference on language was adopted.

The outcome of this debate was a turning point for the standardization of English. Unlike French, which was subjected to strong prescriptivism during this time (Section 3.2.2), English was not exposed to such top-down intervention. Rather than "the spirit of personal liberty" (Baugh & Cable 2002:254), however, the motivations behind this choice lied in the attitudes of an increasingly prosperous and trade-centered middle class that regarded language as a tool of communication rather than an object of power or of esthetic enjoyment.

3.3.2 Diffusion and acceptance

England's territorial expansion was accompanied by the imposition of its standard language—Anglo-Norman French or English depending on the era—to conquered territories. The earliest colonial conquests by the Anglo-Norman kings were directed to the Celtic periphery of the British Isles and involved both military and cultural measures. In early modern Ireland subjected to English rule, the *Statutes of Kilkenny* (1366) forbade the use of Irish Gaelic, a full-fledged vernacular and an established written medium; they imposed other repressive laws that led to a full-scale colonization. Even before the major waves of emigration in nineteenth century, Irish Gaelic was

no longer spoken in public domains. Similar scenarios played out in Wales starting from military conquest in the thirteenth century. Although Medieval Wales was a collection of kingdoms rather than a single political unit, it was united by a common vernacular and shared customs; Welsh was attested in writing starting from the twelfth century (Williams 1993). Common jurisdiction with England starting from the sixteenth century (see Section 1) was followed by a whole-scale shift to English in all administrative and most everyday language use.

Scotland's institutions have been saved from Anglo-Norman takeover thanks to Scottish military victory in 1314. Subsequently, England was forced to recognize Scottish sovereignty for nearly 300 years and had to achieve the unification of the two kingdoms by dynastic inheritance and economic integration. Language shift from Scots to English was progressive and aided by the relative mutual intelligibility of the two Germanic languages. Scottish Gaelic, still spoken along the northwest coast of Scotland and in the Hebrides islands, had never lost its status of a lesser-known vernacular and played no significant role in successive official language regimes (Figure 4). The *Treaty of Union* (1706) was ratified by both parliaments and set the current boundaries of Great Britain, comprised of England, Wales, and Scotland. When six northeastern counties of Ireland, known today as Northern Ireland, joined the Union in 1922 after a war and centuries of repressive cultural policy, the newly formed United Kingdom (UK) inherited both centrist and regionalist institutional traditions. In the second half of the twentieth century, it made use of the latter in form of a significant administrative reshuffling known as 'devolutions' that also affected its language policy.

The UK today grants significant powers to the parliaments, assemblies, and governments of Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland in a large number of domains, including justice, taxation, and all domains of local social and cultural life. Policies protecting and promoting

languages are subsumed under education and vary considerably from one region to the other.

The grudging acceptance of Irish in the early twentieth century has turned into active protection

in Northern Ireland thanks to the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages that the

UK is bound to implement (see Section 2). Both Irish and Ulster Scots are promoted in some

form; Irish is taught in schools, including in Irish medium schools. The *Welsh Language*

Acts (1967, 1993) and the *Welsh Language Measure* (2011) grant English and Welsh equal status

in public life and the administration of justice. It enables the Language Commissioner to impose

bilingual signage in public and investigate interferences with the freedom to use Welsh in public
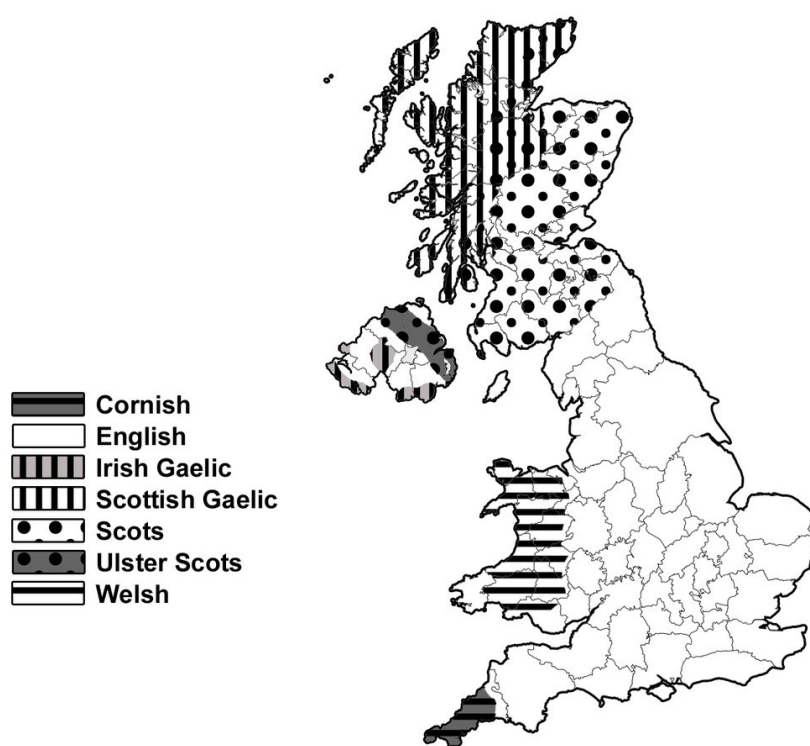
settings.

Figure 4. Historical regional minority languages in the United Kingdom.[10]

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[10] Maps adapted from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Languages_of_the_United_Kingdom and https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Languages_of_Northern_Ireland. (15 August, 2020.)

Following Scotland's *Gaelic Language Act* (2005) a five-year language plan took effect in 2016 that focuses on eight key areas, among them the acquisition of Gaelic by children in and outside of school, more opportunities requiring Gaelic skills at the workplace, and the planning of Gaelic texts to enhance the consistency and visibility of the language. Since the 2011 language census that revealed continued practice of Scots, a Scot Language Coordinator has been working with education authorities to develop a Scots program within the elementary school curriculum. In September 2015, the Scottish Government launched its Scots Language Policy, published in both English and Scots. Although these power-sharing arrangements come too late to resurrect large-scale societal bilingualism, they support some forms of earlier traditions of sustained territorial linguistic diversity.

3.4. Spain's inclusive power-sharing language regime

3.4.1. Norm selection

Unlike standard French, whose direct descent was falsely attributed to the hypothetical dialect *francien* (3.2.1), Castilian (Spanish) is identifiably the birth child of a Romance variety first written and spoken in the Kingdom of Castile in the Northern Central Plains of the Iberian Peninsula. As elsewhere in Europe, starting from the twelfth century, Medieval Latin was the preferred lingua franca of official record keeping, and other forms of vernacular writing, among them Catalan and Leonese (Figure 5), were also used locally. Eventually, written Castilian Romance (*romance castellano*) broke out of this power-neutralizing arrangement with Latin thanks to its frequent use and wide diffusion beyond the boundaries of Castile.

Castilian Romance became the preferential written medium in the Iberian Peninsula due to the political ambitions of its kings, but its diffusion was also aided by an early invention in codification: its spelling system was less Latinate and closer to the vernacular, which provided

greater ease of transmission by reading aloud comprehensibly in multiple Romance dialect areas.

As in Medieval England (Section 3.3.1), texts were written to be proclaimed for both record

keeping and public information, which is why in the thirteenth century, monastic centers writing

in Castilian Romance saw a marked rise in demand due to the political ambitions of Castile. One

such ambition was accomplished in 1230 by the union of the kingdoms of Castile, León, and
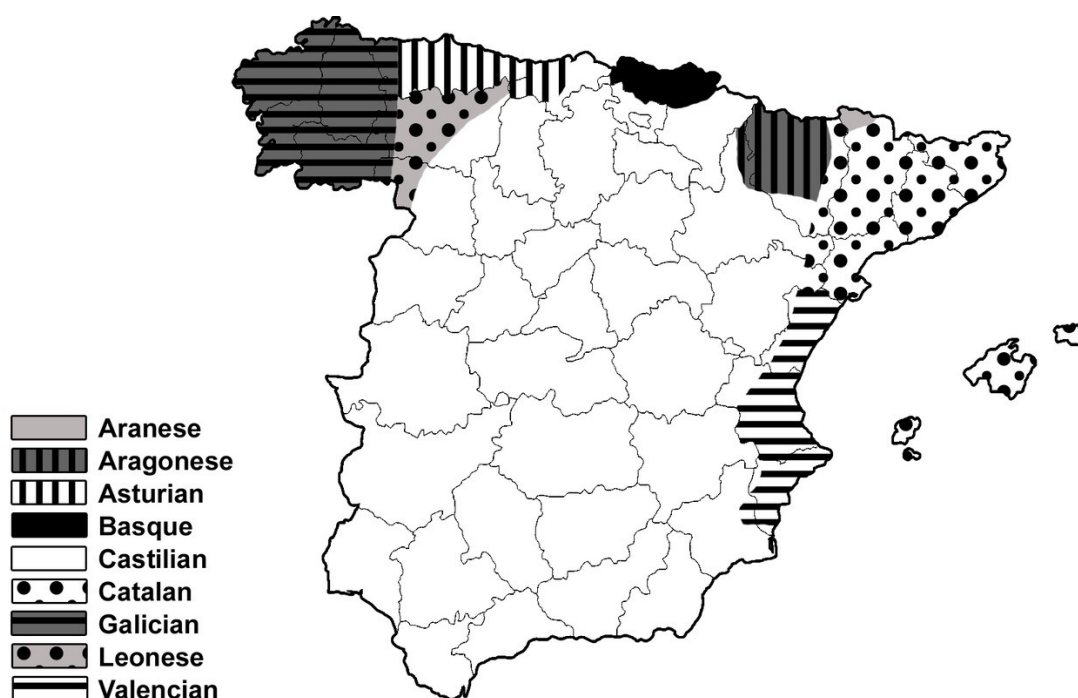
Galicia under Fernando III (1217-1252).

Figure 5. Nine of the historical regional and minority languages of Spain.[11]

By the time Alfonso X (1252 -1284), Fernando III's son, ascended to the throne,

Castilian Romance was prestigious; "the pendulum [had] swung to the benefit of those who

preferred to write in Romance" (Wright 2013:42). The *Fuero Real* (1252-1284), a four-volume

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[11] Map adapted from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Languages_of_Spain. (15 August, 2020.)

municipal law book compiled in Castilian Romance, on the basis of local customs, was an indication of the growing status of the language and the political power of the Castilian kings. Alfonso X's famously cosmopolitan and tolerant court, which included Jews, Muslims, and Christians, facilitated contact between languages and cultures of the Iberian kingdoms and contributed greatly to the diffusion of knowledge in Castilian throughout Europe.

This early period of multilingualism left a lasting legacy on the structure of the language. Compared to French, which retained only a handful of borrowings from Celtic languages spoken in Ancient Gaul, Castilian constituted itself early as a hybrid with multiple layers of cultural influence from other languages spoken in the Peninsula (Figure 4). Words of Basque origin, for instance, may have made their way into Galician "from later influence of medieval varieties of northern Hispano-Romance, especially as Galicia became part of the Kingdom of Castile and León" (Dworkin 2012:27). An even more important source of long-term contact influence was Arabic, a Semitic language of high prestige and a vehicle of scientific knowledge. Arabic gave rise to several thousands of borrowings in Castilian (Spanish). These borrowings include, among others, free morphemes that are borrowed only in contexts of prolonged and intense cultural contacts. One such example is the preposition *hasta* 'until, as far as', likely picked up with essentially the same meaning "from the technical language of Arabic-speaking land surveyors" (Dworkin 2012:103). Castilian, selected over competing regional standards thanks to its wide range of influence, was ready for international fame during the Renaissance.

3.4.2. Codification and diffusion

Contact with Arabic also proved to be defining for the political legitimacy of the Crown of Castile (1230-1715) and, ultimately, the diffusion of Castilian. Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, who recaptured Spain from the Arabic-speaking Moors (*Reconquista*) in 1492,

established a flourishing Renaissance culture and provided much incentive to humanistic and artistic activities that included the writing of grammars and dictionaries.

One of the first grammar books that attempted to describe systematically the vernacular grammar of a European language was published in the Kingdom of Castile the very year the Moors were expelled from the Peninsula. The author of *Arte de la lengua castellana* 'The Art of the Castilian Language' (1492) was Antonio de Lerija (1444-1522), an Italian-educated, towering figure of Spanish humanism. Better known as Antonio de Nebrija, he was "a grammarian, a humanist *grammaticus,* [and] a polymath, whose superior knowledge of the Latin language and literature enabled him to dominate all academic disciplines (Edwards 2000:267). His notoriety within European humanistic circles accounted for much of the influence of his work that also included a grammar of Latin (1487) and the first dictionary of Spanish (1495). With the cultural influence of Church Latin definitely relegated to the second rank, a century before the same had been accomplished in the Kingdom of France, the cultural heritage of Isabella and Ferdinand's Spain allowed Castilian to gain unprecedented prestige and be carried to distant territories.

The reign of Charles V (1500-1558), Holy Roman emperor and king of Castile, cemented the international status of Castilian in early modern Europe. Although spelling was variable until orthographic reforms in the nineteenth century, Castilian was codified and elaborated for all functions of public life. When in 1536 Charles V had to deliver a speech after his victory over the troupes of the French King Francis I (1494-1547) in Rome, he chose to speak in Castilian rather than his native language, French. Not speaking Italian fluently and refusing to be heard only by a few in Latin, he opted for Castilian due to practical considerations and, no doubt, to stage "a performance of his newly acquired Spanish imperial identity" (Martínez 2013:47-48).

During the codification process, the multiple social functions of Castilian as a state language and an imperial lingua franca bolstered the development of norms and normative ideologies, a definitive sign of struggle for power and political influence over the newly forming standard language. As in France, the purity of the standard language became an important occupation and a symbol of the unity of the state. Ridding Castilian of Arabisms in the sixteenth century was greeted with enthusiasm and represented "the first attempt in the history of Spanish at deliberate manipulation of the lexicon as a reaction to a specific category of loanwords" (Dworkin 2012:117). In his *Dialogo de la lengua* (1535), for instance, the historian Juan de Valdés laments over permissive attitudes towards Arabic influence in Castilian, as "the Spaniards were unable to keep the purity of their language and stop it from mixing with the Arab one; as many Moors stayed, their language also stayed" (Rietbergen 2015:263-64).

During the final decades of the Spanish Golden Age (1492–1659), Castilian spread to additional territories. It appeared in the New World nearly a half a century before Jacques Cartier (1491-1557), the Breton explorer and navigator in the service of France's King Francis I set foot on the shores of *Gaspé* Bay in Quebec and claimed it for France. Imperial policies of language and culture, mostly driven by the strategies of various religious orders, were not assimilationist despite some "initial efforts to castilianize the indigenous elites" (Arnoux & Del Valle 2013:127). Eventually, practical considerations of exploitation and commercialization of resources prevailed and indigenous languages were used merely as means of interethnic communication, administration, and control. In all new Spanish viceroyalties of the New World, Castilian was placed above indigenous languages, regardless of their geographic spread and local status, but with no attempts at limiting their use. This pragmatic approach to ethnolinguistic diversity during first two centuries of the Spanish colonial rule followed in the footsteps of

Medieval and early modern traditions of cultural tolerance. It was not until the ascension of the

Bourbon kings to the Spanish throne in the eighteenth century that a new, homogenizing

administrative tradition appeared.

3.4.3. Acceptance

The Spanish War of Succession (1701-1714) plunged Castile in a power vacuum for over a

decade. During this time, the ascension of the first Bourbon King, Philip V (1700 -1746) ushered

in a new era of French-style centralization and homogenization. The *Nueva Planta* decrees

(1707-1716), part of what is known as the Bourbon Reforms, were intended to put an end to

regional autonomies. Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, and the Balearic Islands saw their long-held

legal, administrative, and cultural powers curtailed. Bureaucrats were appointed directly from the

King's court in Madrid to serve in these formerly autonomous regions where most old

institutions were abolished. The Royal Spanish Academy (RAE) was created in 1713. Similar to

other academies in Europe, the RAE's mission was to ensure the stability of the standard

language by additional corpus planning. Its *New Spanish Language Grammar* (1771) and

Spanish Language Dictionary (1780) saw multiple editions since their first publication in 1780.

Although the new institution was part of a coordinated effort at replacing a formerly

tolerant cultural policy by a centralized control of internal multilingualism, full-scale linguistic

homogenization across the entire Spanish-speaking world turned out to be impossible to

implement. Practical considerations prevailed again. In the final decades of the nineteenth

century, the RAE created subsidiary academies in an effort to secure its authority on the

continent. The proximity and increasing prominence of the United States in Central America no

doubt precipitated the creation of the first academies in Colombia (1871), Ecuador (1874),

Mexico (1875), and San Salvador (1876). Today, the Association of Academies of the Spanish

Language is comprised of twenty-two national academies under the continued dominance of Spain's RAE.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the obligatory use of Castilian in government was one of the many measures that aimed to homogenize the Spanish state. The conscription of all male, serving preferably in mixed army units in the Spanish army, also meant that all recruits had to become bilingual in Castilian (Vila i Moreno 2008). Attempts to transform Spain into a centrist state, however, reached their most aggressive form during the Franco's dictatorship (1936-1975), called the period of maximum subordination. During this time, the mere practice of languages other than Castilian could lead to reprisal and, as a direct consequence of repression, most minor regional languages declined in numbers and even the inter-generational transmission of Catalan and Basque started to dwindle.

One of the priorities of the post-Franco years' cultural policies was the restauration linguistic pluralism. This time, however, regional ethnolinguistic diversity was subjected to a relatively strong, homogenizing state control. The administrative system of the 1978 Spanish Constitution was dubbed "coffee for everyone" (Subiras 2006), as the type of regional autonomy that it imposed on the historical regions was deliberately blind to cultural and linguistic traditions in the name of greater unity within the Spanish state. For instance, regions that did not have a "locally distinctive language" (*lengua propria*) still found themselves subjected to same administrative arrangements as Catalonia where, historically, the entire region was governed in the local language. However, the current protections and active promotion of most of Spain's historical languages under the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (Section 3.1) represents a new form of stability and continuity, combining both pluralistic and centrist traditions into an *inclusive power-sharing* language regime.

4. Conclusion

This chapter aimed at exploring how standardization processes, examined both from a political and a historical sociolinguistic angle in three European nation-states, aligned with certain language political traditions or language regimes. I argued that France's strongly monolingual language regime arose, in large part, as a result of the early selection, concerted codification, and wide diffusion of its standard language under the control of a single, powerful, and culturally homogenous elite. Since its early modern history, French has been the cultural pillar of a power-concentrating language regime that systematically preferred homogeneity over pluralistic treatments of multilingualism.

By contrast, the subordinate status of English to Latin and Anglo-Norman French during the selection and the codification phases of its standardization appears to have been followed by a relative lack of homogenizing attitudes towards variation in the language during its elaboration and diffusion as a lingua franca. These traditions have culminated in the UK's current power-sharing language regime that, while still strongly centralized by design, can accommodate territorial linguistic diversity.

The selection and codification of Castilian (Spanish) took place in a climate of balanced competition and convergence between many prominent Iberian Romance vernaculars in the early modern era. These processes were followed by the diffusion of Castilian (Spanish) across the equally diverse linguistic space of a vast empire whose administrative structure had to be managed inclusively. Coupled with collective experiences of administrative centralization and cultural homogeneity in the late modern era, Spain's power-sharing language regime is inclusive at the local level but marked by monolingual ideologies at the state level.

How these and other regimes of language regime arise and continue through coercion and consensus remains a matter of discussion and debate. One can only hope that future studies of "comparative standardology" will examine the political and the historical sociolinguistic conditions under which standard languages emerged and continue to function in contemporary societies.

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